FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

PUBLISHED BY THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
AND THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

DECEMBER 16, 1916

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Waiting for the Judiciary Committee Report

From left to right: Miss Hazel Hunkins, Montana; Mrs. Bessie Papandre, California; Miss Maud Younger, California, Chairman of the Lobby Committee

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AND
National Woman's Party

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The Suffragist

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Notes of the Week

Democrats on Good Behavior

THE Democratic party must be on its good behavior for the next few years if it wants to continue in power," declared former Senator Charles A. Towne, of New York, last week, at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C. "Some of our fellows have jumped at the conclusion that we are in for an indefinite period. I do not take that view. If it had not been for the war we should have been beaten."

"Some of our fellows" may in the flush of victory be over-estimating their security, but the leaders of the Democratic party realize clearly that they would have been beaten but for the war; and they are already endeavoring to build up a permanent support in the western states, where they made their gains last November. One of the most effective moves to conciliate the west will be the passage of the federal suffrage amendment enfranchising women.

The United States Government and Its Servants

THE appropriations committee of the House of Representatives voted last week to report out the bill providing for an increase in the salaries of government clerks. They did this in view of the greatly increased cost of living and the extraordinary rise of prices within the last year.

However, they modified the salary increase to a considerable extent, cutting down the original bill from twenty to ten per cent and adding the proviso that the increase would hold good for one year only. This action was taken after more than fifteen years of agitation.

Suffragists may well take the lesson to heart that the disfranchised citizens of the country, even though they be the servants of the government, may look for little consideration to a national Congress in which they are unrepresented. The government clerks affected by the bill are mainly women and residents of the disfranchised District of Columbia.

For Women's Division in Department of Labor

THE Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives reported, December 13, the bill to create a women's division in the Department of Labor.

The committee recommended that the bill be passed without amendment.

There has long been a crying need for such a division in the Department of Labor.

"Mount Inez"

MOUNT DISCOVERY has been rechristened Mount Inez by the people of Glen's Falls, New York. Inez Milholland Boissevain, who gave her life for women, was buried at the foot of the mountain, and it has been renamed as a memorial to her.

"Mount Inez" is one of the highest peaks of the Adirondacks. From its summit one may look far out over Lake Champlain and the Green Mountains.

"Woman's Sphere" and Woman Suffrage

THREE hundred working women marched through a chilly, misty rain to the New York City Hall on December 9 to ask Mayor Mitchell to help check the rising cost of food. "The women made a somber procession," said the New York *Times*, "as they marched through City Hall Park with heads lowered against the slanting, penetrating rain."

The speeches of the women to Dr. Henry Moskowitz, president of the Municipal Service Commission, who saw them at the City Hall in place of the Mayor, were brief and touching. They explained that they were there to protest against the high cost of food and to demand the establishment of municipal market terminals, municipal bakeries, dairies and other community food centers. They also desired to urge the city to furnish school children with lunches, asserting that the number of little folk who were inadequately fed had increased rapidly since the cost of commodities had ascended beyond the means of the poor.

Most of the women, said the *Times*, had been wet through by the rain in the march to the Hall, and shivered with cold while their spokesmen were addressing Dr. Moskowitz.

"There are one hundred thousand children in the city who are going hungry every day," said their leader. "The state should feed its hungry children. It should provide lunches for them. An empty stomach and an empty head frequently go together. They must have food if they are to become good citizens."

Other speakers argued that since it was Mayor Mitchell's duty to preserve law and order in the city, he was automatically obligated to help to prevent conditions that would bring on lawlessness and disorder.

The women were led by Mrs. Theresa Malkiel. "You have a right to see the Mayor," she said to the others as they huddled about her on the top of the stairs leading to the City Hall. And to encourage them, she added, "Remember that in 1918 you will be voters, too."

Indeed, their plea was a touching argument for their enfranchisement—strong enough, one would think, to move to helpful action even our present-day Lincoln in the White House.

Suffrage and English Cabinet

MRS. EMMELINE PANKHURST, London dispatches report, has seen some of Mr. Lloyd George's chief supporters and has made it clear to them that English women do not desire a reconstruction of the cabinet without a consideration of the problem of women's enfranchisement.

The suffragists foresee that the new cabinet may survive the war and have much to do in shaping the future position of women.

Dutch Women Protest

IN HOLLAND, women are making a determined, yet humble, protest against disfranchisement. The press dispatches state that they have mounted guard daily near the entrance to the second chamber of Parliament. They stand there in rain and snow, hail and frost, exhibiting banners declaring, "We want the vote." And they have sworn to keep up this protest until their demand is granted.

The determination behind this demonstration should touch the hearts of the men of all countries and should make them realize that a movement so just and so determined will not always remain humble and imploring.

Men's Militancy

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* of recent date says that Sir Edward Carson has accepted the post of First Lord of the Admiralty. Sir Edward Carson is still well remembered in America as the leader of a movement in Ireland which openly prepared to oppose the British Government, organized, armed and drilled a body of troops ready to take the field in the event of the passage of the home rule bill.

In carrying out this program of armed protest Sir Edward Carson was absolutely unhindered by the government. At the same time women protesting for their freedom were flung into prison. Women are still being warned against militancy in England and in this country, but the advocate of militancy for men is now elevated to one of the highest posts of honor in the gift of the British Government.

Suffrage Incidents and Comments

Suffrage Banner Found

Mystery of Lost Emblem Solved When It Is Flaunted at President Again

WITH this heading, the discovery of the lost suffrage banner that briefly greeted President Wilson last week in the House of Representatives was given to a waiting world.

The federal suffrage amendment, it seems, invaded even the sacred precincts of the annual December frolic of the Gridiron Club at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., this week. This affair, bringing notables from many parts of the country, and attended by the President, most of his cabinet, justices of the supreme court, legislators, and national campaign committee men, turned almost wholly on the late political campaign.

In all probability it would be quite impossible to mention the 1916 presidential campaign without mentioning the women voters who made it the contest it proved. Certain it is that women in relation to that contest insisted on bobbing up in the travesties at the New Willard, December 9.

At the very outset of an evening devoted to merriment, the President, who occupied a prominent place, was reminded of the suffrage amendment by the identical banner that confronted him from the gallery of the House of Representatives on the day he had read his message to that body; on this occasion he plainly saw the humor of the situation, when the now familiar question, "Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?" was let down from the balcony in front of his astonished eyes.

The Washington *Times* describes the incident:

"The diners were puzzled when President Strayer had concluded his introductory remarks with the usual formula: 'Reporters are never present, but ladies are always present.'

"Suddenly a woman in the balcony directly in front of where the President sat dropped a banner before his eyes.

"It was the same banner that had been displayed to the dismay of Congress while the President was reading his annual message last Tuesday. Once more the banner was hastily pulled down—and this time the 'woman' was arrested who unfurled it. The banner display was only a burlesque, and this time the President showed his appreciation of the incident.

"Suffrage leaders have been searching since Tuesday for their banner. After the 'stunts' were concluded, they were apprised of its whereabouts."

Perhaps the suffrage banner reminded the President of a compelling situation as he listened to the travesty on the late campaign. It is rumored, at any rate, that when he spoke following the dinner he predicted the speedy realization of suffrage as part of a world tide of democracy.

Bryan and Banners

AN AMUSING accident connected with the unfurling of the suffrage banner in the House of Representatives last week was that it hung just behind the head of William Jennings Bryan, who was seated among the Democratic members. Mr. Bryan, who, as a former member of the House, has the privilege of the floor, appeared on Tuesday, December 7, shortly before President Wilson, and was given an ovation equal to the President's in fervor and volume.

The Democratic membership in the House rose to cheer the Great Commoner, who, by his brilliant campaign in the western states, where the Democratic victory was gained, did possibly more than any other man to place the national Democratic party again in the saddle. Mr. Bryan sat down among his political friends just in front of the gallery where members of the Congressional Union, who had come to remind the Chief Executive of his duty to woman suffrage, were aligned.

One of the first heads to turn in astonishment toward the intruding banner was the head of Mr. Bryan. Mr. Bryan must have felt he was indeed pursued,—positively haunted. During his meetings down state in Illinois, he was confronted at every turn with the yellow standards of the Woman's Party, challenging an answer to the question, "Why did the Democratic party oppose national woman suffrage?" It was the one issue that Mr. Bryan was totally unable to meet, and it was an issue that he found confronting him in every one of the equal suffrage states.

The strength of the Woman's Party organization in the West must have deeply impressed Mr. Bryan, because it produced in him a prompt change of opinion. When he met a deputation of members of the Woman's Party in Arizona, he told them, with his accustomed benignity, that they were "impatient," that suffrage would come in time; that they "could not pick berries before they were ripe," and so on; but after he had encountered similar delegations of earnest women, each armed with a vote, in Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming, he saw plainly that the berries had ripened; and in Montana came out boldly for the federal suffrage amendment.

Now that he has positively declared for national equal suffrage, Mr. Bryan is a strong force on that side. Far-sighted political weather-scout that he is, he already sees the federal suffrage and the federal prohibition measures as two great causes to which, with 1920 in mind, an astute Democrat might pin his faith, with the perfect certainty of winning the West on these issues, uniting it to the Democratic South, and thus securing national supremacy for a progressive Democracy.

Since election day he has already stated his platform and should be a powerful influence within his party, which he has now twice placed in the national saddle, for the enfranchisement of American women.

Senator Thomas on the President's Message

IT WAS AN admirable paper. The President was terse, directing attention only to those things of the greatest moment." These are the words of commendation bestowed by Senator Thomas of Colorado on the President's message to Congress.

There are those who have criticized the President's message. It has been called merely a memorandum of unfinished business. It has been scored because it ignored the problem of the high cost of living. In fact, Representative Fitzgerald of New York, a Democrat, chairman of the appropriations committee, put out a bulletin of protest concerning the President's omission of so important a consideration as that of food prices.

There was no protest as to the President's failure to mention the enfranchisement of American women.

Where are those zealous suffragists of the west who during the late election campaign made the country ring with their protestations of loyalty to the suffrage cause? Senator Thomas of Colorado was one of them. Women of Colorado remember that the Senator placed suffrage in the foreground as a national reform pretty constantly during the last campaign. He declared he had been "a suffragist from childhood" and "loyal to the cause of suffrage all his life."

Yet neither Senator Thomas nor any other suffrage zealot raised his voice as to the President's failure to mention in his message a reform that is very much in the minds of politicians as well as women in every part of the country at the present time. Senator Thomas even goes so far as to praise the President for the completeness of his message, mentioning as it does only "those things of the greatest moment"—among which suffrage, to which he had been "loyal to all his life," was apparently not numbered.

"Respected and Feared"

THE women expect to find Congressmen more amenable to their desires than before the election. It is true they campaigned for the defeat of President Wilson and Democratic Congressmen, and it is true that their campaign very nearly caused the defeat of the Democratic party. . . .

With Democratic Congressmen, these activities have not, to be sure, made the women of the Woman's Party and Congressional Union popular, but what is more important is the fact that it has made them both respected and feared. The women have not courted popularity. They know that politics and politicians move along lines of least resistance, yielding to the greatest pressure. Big business may not be popular, but if it is strong it gets obedience from public men and officials. So, in practical politics, and in legislatures, politicians respect power and in this case they have learned to respect the owner of women's votes. It will be a reckless Congressman who this winter will treat the women's lobby as it has been treated by some Congressmen in the past—with indifference or contempt.

The west has shown how important that section of the map has become in the game of national politics and to a proportionate extent the women have increased in importance because it is in the west that they have their twelve enfranchised states.

Efforts will be made at once to secure from President Wilson co-operation for the passage of the suffrage amendment. It is believed the President now will see the political wisdom of eliminating this subject of controversy from the field of national politics by turning it over to the states through a constitutional amendment.—*Gilson Gardner in the Paterson (N. J.) Guardian.*

A National Tribute to Inez Milholland

A NATIONAL memorial service for Inez Milholland will be held on Christmas Day in New York City, where her life was centered. In spite of the fact that this beautiful tribute to Mrs. Boissevain comes at a time when home is precious to women, delegations representing every state are sending representatives to this ceremony. The western states, in particular, where Mrs. Boissevain spent herself so thrillingly for the liberation of women, wish to form part of the national service in her honor.

Members of the Congressional Union and the Woman's Party in many parts of the country feel that at this time women should make felt their deep sense of the wrong being inflicted upon women in making them spend their best—their health, their strength, the abandonment of work that meant fuller self-expression; for the sake of finishing this long struggle of women for political freedom under a government that professes to be a democracy.

No one less than Inez Milholland herself, in the face of the outpouring of life and effort that has been made for the enfranchisement of women in the last seventy years, would wish to call the gift of her life a martyrdom. But suffragists in every part of the country have felt that the passing of this brave and vivid personality has actually symbolized the whole daily sacrifice that hundreds of women have made and are making for the sake of political freedom. It is not given to all to be put to the supreme test and to accept that test with such gallant gladness. But in remembrance of all the long effort of the past, all the obscure women who have given their life's service and gone on into forgetfulness; as well as of this beautiful young figure which has come to typify in the hearts of suffragists the whole sum of sacrifice, the great Christmas memorial in New York will be national in scope and of special solemnity.

Memorial Service in San Francisco

Unusually beautiful and significant was the service in San Francisco, the western city which heard one of the last appeals to women made by Mrs. Boissevain. The service was held at the church of St. Mary the Virgin, offered by Father Arch Perrin as an expression of sympathy with Mrs. Boissevain's work for prison reforms and the abolition of capital punishment. This service was coincident with the service held in New York at the Madison Square Church. Both services were non-sectarian.

The music at the San Francisco service was in charge of Nikolai Sokoloff, director of the San Francisco Symphony and for years first violin of the Boston Symphony. With embracing tenderness he himself played an aria from Brahms, and De Bussy's "Blessed Damosel." Miss Clare Donnelly sang the aria from Handel—"Sleep; wake not."

The service was in charge of the California branch of the Woman's Party; but the audience testified to the breadth of Mrs. Boissevain's appeal to men and women of all classes. Part of Charles Erskine Scott Wood's poem, "Life and Death," a work of great beauty, was read by Mrs. Orlow Black of San Francisco with great simplicity and force. Mrs. Black was one of the leading figures in the California campaign in which Mrs. Boissevain's death was a tragic chapter.

Sara Bard Field, a colleague of Mrs. Boissevain in the Woman's Party campaign, who met her in Nevada and was with her in California, made the address at this service. "The forms of beauty and truth and love change," she said, "but Beauty and Truth and Love abide forever. There are those on two continents who mourn the death of this young woman. Even now at this hour as we meet here, New York grieves for her. East and West clasp sad hands over her grave. Men and women alike weep. The work of Inez Milholland was not for a sex only. If she dedicated her life, as she did, to the freedom of women, and died in the furtherance of that work, it was because she knew that a race could no more endure half free and half slave than could a nation. . . . It was because she believed women to be no more in bondage than men that she gave so unstintingly of her youth and beauty, her magnetism and mentality, to woman's liberation."

The southern California branch of the Woman's Party, in Los Angeles, sent a beautiful memorial resolution to the meeting, extending sympathy to the family. This memorial was headed by the name of Miss Jessie Anthony, the niece of Susan B. Anthony, who has given such faithful service to the Woman's Party in southern California, and who helped arrange the final great meeting of Inez Milholland in Los Angeles. The resolution was first read at the Los Angeles memorial service, held at the Los Angeles Friday Morning Club, with Dr. Hodgens, Mrs. Robert Freeman, a Vassar class-mate of Mrs. Boissevain, Mrs. Shelley Tollhurst and Mrs. Seward Simons as speakers.

Miss Martin Returns to Washington

WITH the return to Washington of Miss Anne Martin of Nevada, chairman of the Woman's Party and of the legislative committee of the Congressional Union, an intensive lobby on the entire Congress now in session will go steadily forward, with suffragists from the voting states dominating the little army of lobbyists.

"I feel that there is a great and hopeful change in the whole suffrage situation since the close of the presidential campaign," says Miss Martin, who led the fight against the national Democratic ticket in Nevada. "The south is now keenly alive to the fact that it must keep the progressive west, for the first time its political ally against the conservative east. The south also realizes that it must live up to the western expectation that a progressive program will be put through. They realize especially that, in the face of campaign declarations in favor of woman suffrage, they cannot again go into a western campaign unless the federal suffrage amendment is passed and out of the way.

"Our lobbyists are presenting this angle of the situation to doubtful Representatives. They see the logic of it. Mrs. George Odell of Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. William Kent of California; Miss Maud Younger of San Francisco; and Mrs. Gilson Gardner of Illinois head the lobby.

"Southern men in the House will be visited by Miss Marion May of New York, now staying in Virginia. Miss May is a Georgia woman and a Democrat. Miss May is thoroughly familiar with the situation in the South and thinks the time has come when southern Representatives must take a forward step. She feels that they have now reached the point where they are willing to be 'shown'."

Nevada Women Against Democrats

Miss Martin has returned to Washington confident that the women voters of the west registered a heavy protest vote against the national Democratic ticket. She bases this view on the situation in Nevada, where she was in charge of the Woman's Party campaign. "In Nevada we cannot separate the women's vote for President from the men's vote, as they can in Illinois," said Miss Martin, "but the women's vote cast for the Senatorship can be closely estimated because the senatorial election this year was very similar to the senatorial election in 1914; and in 1914 women did not vote. Two years ago Grant Miller was the Socialist candidate for Senator in Nevada, Sam Platt the Republican, and Senator Newlands the Democratic. In 1916 Mr. Miller and Mr. Platt ran again as Socialist and Republican candidates, and Senator Pittman ran on the Democratic ticket. It is very likely that the vote would be divided between these three candidates in about the same proportions as in 1914, except that Senator Pittman undoubtedly got a greater proportion of the support of the Democratic men than Senator Newlands did, because a large faction of the Democratic party in 1914 was opposed to Senator Newlands' re-election. He also received a strong Republican vote on account of his own land bill, which is favorable to the 'interests' in Nevada and therefore supported by influential Republicans as well as influential Democrats. Senator Pittman must have received a bigger men's vote than Senator Newlands. But between 1914 and 1916, 11,000 women voters have been added to the state electorate. In spite of this enormous increase of the voting population, Senator Pittman received little more than 4,000 votes in excess of Senator Newlands. Suppose that the entire gain in the vote for Senator Pittman were attributed to women, it would still be evident that women voted against Senator Pittman in the proportion of three to one. But since Senator Pittman received a heavier men's vote than Senator Newlands, it is apparent that the women of Nevada cast an almost solid vote against the Democratic candidate for Senator.

"President Wilson ran about 5,000 ahead of Mr. Pittman because Wilson received a large proportion of the Socialist and labor vote, on account of the eight-hour law; and because Pittman's campaign was not benefited by the peace issue. Undoubtedly Nevada women voted against President Wilson nearly two to one, and against Senator Pittman three to one.

"It is not always realized by eastern people that the men greatly outnumber the women in Nevada. There are 220 men to every 100 women there. More than 22,000 men voted in Nevada as against 11,000 women. Even with the women voting nearly three to one against the Democrats, the men were able, by superior numbers, to elect President Wilson and Senator Pittman.

"It is not important, however, who was elected. The politicians in Nevada, particularly the Democrats, know well that a heavy protest vote was cast by women against the national Democratic ticket, and they will take the factor into consideration before they face another election."

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on December 7, 1915, by Senators Sutherland, Thomas and Thompson.

In the House, on December 6, 1915, by Representatives Mondell, Raker, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

In the Senate, January 8, 1916, the Sutherland Amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1; by a favorable vote.

In the House, December 14, 1916, the Raker Amendment, known as House Joint Resolution No. 1; without recommendation.

Present Status

In the Senate, awaiting action.

In the House, awaiting action.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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One Step Further

THE Susan B. Anthony amendment is out of the Judiciary Committee, and one step further on its legislative way.

The only step, however, that constitutes a real advance for the federal suffrage amendment, is its passage through Congress.

This cannot be secured without the energetic assistance of the party in power.

It is the business of the Democratic party to put its best energies into the task of enfranchising women; and to begin now, in this present session of Congress.

"Mobilizing" Women

NEWS comes from England that the British people are preparing for a more rigid control of the supply and distribution of food, of manufactures and exportation, with a view to economizing the national resources. The Asquith ministry has been overthrown and a small war cabinet, with Mr. Lloyd George at the head, given almost autocratic power over the national life. The newspapers prophesy that Mr. Lloyd George will undertake a sweeping "socialistic" organization of England's internal affairs.

Socialistic is the worst word to apply to the re-organization of England, since it is the essence of socialism that the people should hold in their own hands the control of production and of government. In England, as in Germany, the work of the people is to be "mobilized" without the consent of the majority of the people. English women find themselves in the extraordinary situation of being a productive class indispensable to the national life, called upon to make heroic sacrifices for their country, without any voice whatever in the direction of the national government.

English "Democracy"

LORD NORTHCLIFFE, commenting on the reorganization of the British Government, says:

"We have been through the biggest revolution in England this week since the passing of the Reform Bill in 1884 which so greatly extended the franchise. This week's revolution will have far wider consequences than that. . . . What is happening is that with the pressure of war comes the hard necessity for national efficiency; and our new Prime Minister, in the search for that efficiency, has called to his councils workingmen, businessmen, and scientists, without regard to class or party. The old Liberal group of dawdlers who for two and a half years were playing at war are shaking their heads at this tremendous change of the democratic governance.

"I have had the honor to assist in what has taken place and am absolutely confident of the result. The British working man of 1916 as often as not is better educated than the bourgeois of twenty-five years ago. Nine out of ten wooden crosses that mark the graves of British soldiers in France are on the graves of working men. Ninety per cent of the energy put into the war was the energy of working men. They have every right, therefore, to join Lloyd George's government; and so entirely has the war broken down class distinctions in this country that their advent is welcome in political circles hitherto rigidly exclusive. . . . What has arrived is the triumph of the principles of democratic government."

Women will note the usual calm forgetfulness of their existence, and of all their sacrifices for the national welfare. "The triumph of democratic principles" gives them no share in "the democratic governance."

Woman and the Food Problem

SO CLOSELY related are international affairs that the great war raging in Europe is upsetting the balance of our own industrial life. Our food supplies are pouring into Europe, causing an alarming advance of prices here which menaces the life of thousands of our citizens. The high cost of living is one of the big problems before Congress; and although the administration ignores it, Congressmen are showering their bills into the Senate and House, providing for investigation of the food supply. A federal food commission has been appointed to inquire into the manipulation of the prices of food in all the great cities throughout the United States. Here is federal interference with the main industry of women, an interference by political authorities over whom the majority of women exercise no control.

No intelligent human being can face the national and international problems now before the world without realizing that the disfranchisement of women is a monstrous and indefensible injustice.

What is more important, women themselves are realizing it; and they are determined to endure it no longer. They have reasoned with their rulers for nearly a century. It is a simple fact that they now despair of the efficacy of reason and persuasion in dealing with political authorities. They have already begun to pit their strength against the great parties at national elections. They will continue to do this with growing effect. But they certainly are not ready to wait from election to election for an opportunity to protest against injustice. The whole woman's movement—throughout the world—is on the brink of becoming a rebellion. If the rebellion breaks out, no doubt large numbers of people will at once proceed to chide women; but the real blame will rest squarely on the shoulders of the political organizations which have deliberately worked against the rights of the people.

Judiciary Committee Reports Suffrage Amendment

A REPORT of the federal suffrage amendment, without recommendation, was voted, on December 14, by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.

December 14 was the day of the first meeting of the Judiciary Committee since the presidential campaign, in which the women voters of the west took so decided a part, and in which so many thousands of them cast a heavy protest vote against the national Democratic nominees on account of the Democratic hostility to woman suffrage in the foregoing session. That the Judiciary Committee, which like all other committees under the Democratic administration contains a majority of Democratic members, was not willing to bear any longer the onus of blocking the amendment to enfranchise American women, was evidenced by their prompt decision to report it to the House for action.

How the Judiciary Committee Voted December 14

The federal suffrage amendment was brought up last Thursday by Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin (Republican) who moved that it be reported to the House favorably. Mr. Danforth of New York (Republican) made a substitute motion that the suffrage amendment be reported without recommendation.

Mr. Carlin of Virginia (Democrat) then proposed that both these motions be tabled. Mr. Carlin's motion was defeated, six members voting in favor to thirteen opposed.. The roll call was:

For Mr. Carlin's motion

Webb, North Carolina.....D
Carlin, Virginia.....D
Igoe, Missouri.....D
Whaley, South Carolina.....D
Caraway, Arkansas.....D
Walker, Georgia.....D

Against Mr. Carlin's motion

Thomas, jr., Kentucky.....D
Taggart, Kansas.....D
Gard, Ohio.....D
W. E. Williams, Illinois.....D
Neely, West Virginia.....D
Steele, Pennsylvania.....D
Volstead, Minnesota.....R
Nelson, Wisconsin .....R
Morgan, Oklahoma.....R
Danforth, New York.....R
Graham, Pennsylvania.....R
Dyer, Missouri.....R
Walsh, Massachusetts.....R

Absent

Dale, New York.....D
Chandler, New York.....R

Mr. Danforth's motion to report the suffrage amendment without recommendation was next in order; it passed by a vote of eleven to eight. After Mr. Carlin's proposal to table the amendment had been defeated, a number of the opponents of woman suffrage supported Mr. Danforth's motion as preferable to Mr. Nelson's; while three of the staunchest suffragists on the committee (Volstead, Nelson, and Morgan) voted against Mr. Danforth's motion in order to reserve their support for Mr. Nelson's.

The line-up was:

For Mr. Danforth's motion

Webb, North Carolina.....D
Thomas, jr., Kentucky.....D
Taggart, Kansas.....D
Gard, Ohio.....D
W. E. Williams, Illinois.....D
Whaley, South Carolina.....D
Neely, West Virginia.....D
Walker, Georgia.....D
Danforth, New York.....R
Graham, Pennsylvania.....R
Walsh, Massachusetts.....R

Against Mr. Danforth's motion

Carlin, Virginia.....D
Igoe, Missouri.....D
Caraway, Arkansas.....D
Steele, Pennsylvania.....D
Volstead, Minnesota.....R
Nelson, Wisconsin.....R
Morgan, Oklahoma.....R
Dyer, Missouri.....R

Absent

Dale, New York.....D
Chandler, New York.....R

Nothing could prove more clearly than this vote of the committee, the completeness of party control over committee action. There are twenty-one members of the Judiciary Committee, thirteen Democrats and eight Republicans. In the last session, eleven men—a majority of the committee—favored a report of the suffrage amendment—five Democrats (out of thirteen), and six Republicans (out of eight). Eight Democrats and two Republicans opposed a report of the bill. But when a vote on the amendment was imminent, the chairman, a Democrat, promptly attached a suffrage adherent, Mr. Dyer of Missouri, to his side, by promising to postpone the prohibition amendment indefinitely if Mr. Dyer would agree to postpone the suffrage amendment indefinitely. This turned the suffrage majority of one into a minority of one; and the most patient canvass of all the other members of the committee failed to add another vote to the suffrage total.

The lobby committee clearly saw the futility of arguing with one individual member of the committee after the other, with a view to securing a majority of independent, unpledged votes. It was evident that the Democrats, controlling as they did the program of legislation in the House, could always buy off some of the advocates of suffrage by promising action or inaction on any bill the Congressmen were willing to consider "of more importance" than suffrage. As long as the Democrats wished to hold the suffrage amendment in committee, it was apparent that they could do so;—and when they wished to report it out, they had the power to do it.

This was proved for all time by the vote last Thursday. Three friends of suffrage in the committee (Volstead, Nelson, and Morgan) voted against Mr. Danforth's motion to report the amendment "without recommendation"; another pro-suffrage member (Chandler) was absent; thus reducing the suffrage support from ten to six. Yet eleven votes (eight of them Democratic) were promptly found to favor an immediate report of the amendment to the House. What justice and reason could not compass with a year's patient work, a word of command from the "man higher up" did in a day.

Nevertheless the amendment is now out of the committee's hands and on its way to a vote of the Representatives in the House.

The majority report of the suffrage amendment was made on Friday, December 15, by Mr. Gard, of Ohio. Mr. Nelson, of Wisconsin, will present a minority report within a few days.

History of the Suffrage Amendment in Judiciary Committee

The vote of the Judiciary Committee to report the suffrage amendment without recommendation was the end of a long chapter of Democratic obstruction. The amendment was first referred to the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives on the opening day of the Sixty-fourth Congress, December 6, 1915. It was referred in due course to a small sub-committee. On Febuary 15, the sub-committee, after a great deal of persuasion from suffragists, reported it to the full committee. On that day four members of the committee who were friends of the bill were absent. Opponents of the bill immediately seized the opportunity to move that the amendment be reported back to the sub-committee, with instructions to table it until December 14. This motion was promptly passed and the amendment was again stalled in sub-committee.

This manoeuver was thoroughly unfair. When a sub-committee reports a measure to a committee, it is customary to allow at least a week to elapse before it is acted upon, so that members who are absent from the first meeting may be present when the commitee as a whole votes upon it. The vote was forced on the suffrage amendment, because the friends of the bill were absent.

When the committee was asked to reconsider this action, they said over and over again that it was absolutely impossible; the rules of the committee forbade it. This was not true. The Judiciary Committee has never adopted any rules; and any action it takes can be reconsidered at any time by a majority of its members.

On March 14, the Judiciary Committee did what they had said they could not do; they reconsidered their action on the suffrage amendment, and voted to bring it up on March 28 as the special business of the day.

When they met on March 28, a majority of the committee (eleven out of twenty-one members) were pledged to vote in favor of reporting the suffrage amendment; and (with the exception of one member, Mr. Williams of Illinois, who was paired with an opponent of suffrage) every man pledged was present at the meeting.

Then it was that the chairman of the committee, Mr. Webb of North Carolina, bent on defeating the amendment, approached one of the supporters of suffrage, Mr. Dyer of Missouri, and offered to "postpone indefinitely" consideration of the prohibition amendment, if Mr. Dyer would agree to postpone consideration of the suffrage amendment. Mr. Dyer agreed.

Mr. Dyer is opposed to prohibition. Mr. Webb is regarded as a strong advocate of prohibition. He comes from a prohibition state, and he introduced the prohibition amendment in the House.

As it would have been awkward for Mr. Dyer, who was pledged up to the hilt to support suffrage, to vote its indefinite postponement in committee, Mr. Carlin, of Virginia, ranking member of the committee, was instructed to make a motion to postpone at the same time all the constitutional amendments before the committee.

This was an extraordinary proposal, for the committee had a great number of constitutional amendments before it of widely varying character.

There were the suffrage and prohibition amendments; an amendment prohibiting polygamy in the United States and all territory under the control of the United States; an amendment repealing the fifteenth amendment; an amendment authorizing uniform laws on the subject of marriage and divorce, and providing penalties for their enforcement; an amendment relating to the jurisdiction of courts in the United States; an amendment altering the present method of amending the constitution of the United States, and many others. To vote on all these proposals at once simply on the ground that they were all constitutional amendments was absolutely unparliamentary.

(*Continued on page* 11)

BACKING UP IN THE STATES THE WORK

New Yorkers for National Suffrage First

AFTER the large Congressional Union luncheon in New York on December 9, arranged by the New York City Committee of the Congressional Union and held at Delmonico's under the chairmanship of Miss Alice Carpenter, there was no doubt left in the minds of the brilliant gathering that the national suffrage movement is marching on irresistibly. Miss Alice Paul, national chairman of the Congressional Union, struck the key-note of the occasion when she said: "I tell you that at Washington the situation is more hopeful than ever before because the Woman's Party has made the Democratic party afraid."

Besides Miss Paul, the speakers at the New York luncheon were Miss Carpenter, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, Miss Maud Younger of San Francisco, Mr. Herbert Parsons, and Mr. Gilson Gardner. Following the accounts of the late campaign, plans were made to bring about the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment in the present session by a fiery campaign of protest.

"In the past," said Miss Paul, "suffrage, like the allied forces in Europe, has had money, resources and men, but no concentration. Now we are going to concentrate on Congress. . . .

"Last week three prominent Democrats called at our Washington headquarters. They were men who had fought suffrage; but they have come to realize that their weakest spot is opposition to the federal suffrage amendment, and they want to get it out of the way by nineteen-eighteen."

In answer to a question from the audience as to why the press of the country insisted on saying that the suffragists of the west had elected Wilson, Miss Paul replied, "We don't care what the press thinks on that point; we don't care about public opinion on that point; all that matters is what the Democratic leaders think. And fortunately the Democrats in Washington know what we did in the west. They are constantly coming to our headquarters to tell us so. An Oregon Democratic leader called on us last week and said, 'I am on my way to the President to tell him that the Democratic party is sure to lose in 1920 unless the Susan B. Anthony amendment is out of the way.' He said that by lining up a group of western voters we had convinced Democratic politicians that they cannot afford to ignore us.

"Why did Wilson go to Atlantic City to tell the women at that convention that he had 'come to fight with them'?" asked Miss Paul. "Because women were ready to fight him. Women must not seek to conciliate. That is not the way to show power."

When Mr. Parsons advised suffragists, whatever their belief in method, to work for the New York referendum campaign as a means of hastening the end of the battle for the federal suffrage amendment, Miss Paul disagreed with his conclusion. "We are not working to win New York," declared Miss Paul, "We are working to put the federal suffrage amendment through Congress. The trouble with suffragists is that they are like the allies in the war. Germany is winning territory because it has had concentration and strategy. State suffrage, by its scattered methods, is losing as the allies have been losing. We lost Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, North Dakota—but why call the roll of those defeats! The method you ask us to pursue did not win a point last year or this; but at the national capital the situation is more hopeful than it has ever been before, because the party in power is afraid of a method that actually costs them votes."

Harriot Stanton Blatch made a thrilling but a practical appeal for political action on the part of women.

"The thing we suffragists had to face in the west," said Mrs. Blatch candidly, after apologies to Republicans present, "was the AWFULNESS of the Republican campaign. We had hundreds of women lined up against the Democratic candidate for President in Kansas; but when Mr. Hughes reached that state, he was mum as an oyster about suffrage. Not a Democratic speaker, from Bryan down, but spoke on suffrage from twenty to thirty minutes; but the only Republican who mentioned suffrage in the west with any heart was Roosevelt." Cheers greeted this remark of Mrs. Blatch. She discussed the late Congressional Union banner episode in the House of Representatives with much pungency. "Some said the President smiled and some said he frowned and some said he looked sarcastic," said Mrs. Blatch. "But I, for one, don't care what he did or how he looked. We are going to let down banners and keep on letting down banners or anything else that suits our purpose, till we get action on the suffrage amendment. As I see it, there are two ways to get suffrage through at present—by propaganda or by fighting. For the present we'll drop banners—but we may in time adopt fighting. We'll wage this battle in our own way, and, women of the east, you must not be chicken-hearted if you want to win this war."

The two men who spoke, Mr. Herbert Parsons for the Republicans and Mr. Gilson Gardner, the newspaper correspondent, for the Democrats, were at one on one point: both believed in the policy of the Woman's Party in holding the Democratic party responsible for the non-passage of the federal suffrage amendment. "If you get the ballot," said Mr. Parsons, "It will not be through Democratic gratitude, but through Democratic fear. Stick to your guns!"

"The Republican campaign managers," said Mr. Gardner, "talked with their memories, not with their intellects. If they had stopped to think they would have realized that the old formula—New York, Illinois, Indiana—doesn't elect a President any more. If they had the campaign to go over again, they would not flood New York with money, but California; and they would know that their best bet was to give the right hand to the Woman's Party."

At the end of the stirring afternoon Miss Alice Paul made a brief appeal for funds, describing the hardship of having to stop constructive work to raise money to proceed with it. In fifteen minutes $1,500 was subscribed for the new work in Congress, with pledges for larger support.

Michigan Members Unite for Federal Suffrage Amendment Work

WOMEN voters did not re-elect Mr. Wilson. It was the women who prevented a complete landslide for him."

"Never again will men managers of political parties neglect to figure on the power of voting women."

"President Wilson is above all a master politician. He has yielded more to political expediency than any other President, and he will see the wisdom of conciliating the women voters of the nation by advocating the adoption of the federal suffrage amendment."

These were the leading points of Miss Anne Martin's speech at the mass meeting of the annual convention of the Michigan branch of the Congressional Union.

The convention was held in the Y. W. C. A. hall in Bay City, Wednesday, December 6. Amending the constitution, reading of reports and appointment of committees occupied the morning session, Miss Martin being the chief speaker at the mass meeting in the afternoon and the guest of honor at the banquet held at night.

The program of the convention had been printed and sent out broadcast with the result that both meetings were crowded with interested men and women from all parts of the state. The speakers at the afternoon mass meeting were Mrs. Cyrus Mead, chairman of the Ohio branch of the Congressional Union, Mrs. George T. Hendrie, member of the National Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, Mrs. W. N. Whittemore, who campaigned for the Woman's Party in Illinois, Miss Margaret Whittemore, who campaigned in Oregon, and Miss Martin, the national chairman of the Woman's Party.

At the banquet which closed the convention, Congressman-elect Gilbert A. Currie declared that he would vote and work for the federal suffrage amendment in the next Congress.

Miss Martin's speech was most inspiring.

"The Woman's Party is the one national party that went into the election which could not be defeated," she said. "We were seeking the political success of no party. We had no candidates. We have been accused of being out to defeat Mr. Wilson and to elect Mr. Hughes. Our purpose was neither. The Woman's Party was organized and was campaigning to induce women of the west to cast a protest vote against the party in power, the Democratic party, which for four years has denied justice to women in Congress. That purpose was accomplished in Nevada and every other suffrage state. A large protest vote was cast."

After the banquet the Detroit delegation hurried the guests off to a special car which they had waiting to take them to Detroit, where a luncheon had been arranged in their honor for the next day. It was held in the Detroit Athletic Club and was attended by many prominent citizens of Detroit, all of them eager for a glimpse of the Woman's Party chairman and campaigners.

Mrs. W. N. Whittemore, the newly elected state chairman, presided at the luncheon, introducing Mrs. C. R. Wilson, president of the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs, as toastmistress.

The newly elected officers of the Michigan branch are: Chairman, Mrs. W. N. Whittemore, Detroit; first vice-chairman, Mrs. Harry Coleman, Pontiac; second vice-chairman, Mrs. G. B. Jennison, Bay City; secretary, Mrs. Paul Reyneau, Detroit; treasurer, Mrs. F. C. Aldinger, Lansing; directors, Mrs. Margaret Williams, Grand Rapids, and Dean Georgia White, Lansing.

FOR THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT IN CONGRESS

Miss Amidon in South Dakota

AFTER six unsuccessful state campaigns for suffrage, the women of South Dakota are in a mood to listen with great interest to discussion of a "short cut to suffrage." Miss Beulah Amidon, who is now working in the state, has met with a good deal of enthusiasm in every town she has visited. Coming into the state from the West, she went first to Deadwood. Nestled down in a little valley, among snowy pine forests, Deadwood is oddly reminiscent of Switzerland. But its women are extremely wide awake Americans, very anxious for their share in the government under which they live. At a meeting held at the home of Mrs. W. L. Neil, Miss Amidon explained the federal amendment, and told of the work the Congressional Union has done toward its passage. The women were deeply interested. The first question everyone asked was, "How can I help?"

From Deadwood, Miss Amidon went to Pierre, the state capital. Mrs. John Hipple, one of the ardent young workers in the state campaign, entertained at a suffrage tea in honor of Miss Amidon. Mrs. Hipple's lovely home, looking out toward the State House, was beautifully decorated with flowers and foliage. Between fifty and sixty women came to hear about the work for the federal amendment. Though the majority against suffrage was cut substantially in the last campaign, the workers fear that the Russian and Bohemian vote will make even a seventh campaign doubtful of success, and they were much interested in the other plan of work. Several ladies expressed a determination to come to the state conference, if possible; and many promised to do all in their power to make a state organization successful.

At Huron a small but interested meeting listened to Miss Amidon's discussion of the work for the federal amendment, and several of the women hoped to be able to come to a conference, and learn more about the plan of work for the state.

During her two days' stay in Aberdeen, Miss Amidon was kept exceedingly busy. She met a number of women in their own homes, and was invited to address the women's clubs, of which Aberdeen has an amazing number. It was possible to accept only five of these invitations, and all the women seemed much impressed by the scope and possibilities of the national suffrage work.

From Aberdeen, Miss Amidon went to Sioux Falls, where she will make her headquarters while in the state. The state conference will be held there sometime during the month. Miss Amidon is busy with plans for that meeting.

The District of Columbia Prepares for the Drive on Congress

FAVORABLE action from Congress on the federal suffrage amendment before March 3," is the slogan adopted by the District of Columbia branch of the Congressional Union. And to insure this "favorable action" the District is being rapidly organized into small and large groups corresponding almost to the formation of a regiment of soldiers, each group ready to get into action on as short notice as a body of troops would be given. And, until the amendment is safely past Congress, continuous pressure will be exerted on the national body of legislators by this close organization.

Organization into precincts and "neighborhood" groups is going forward rapidly. During the

Miss Beulah Amidon
National Organizer

past week a meeting was held in the home of Mrs. Elizabeth Owen, vice-chairman of the second precinct, at which officers were elected for the eighth division of that precinct. The fifth division of the third precinct held a meeting in the Richmond Hotel, December 14, at which officers were elected for that division; and a joint meeting of the seventh, eight and ninth divisions of the second precinct was planned for December 15, at Cameron House.

Miss Mildred Gilbert of California was the speaker at the eighth division meeting, Thursday, December 7.

Miss Gilbert, speaking of the meeting later, said:

"It is wonderful to see the interest among the women of the District. They tell how many times they have taken part in Congressional Union demonstrations in Washington and worn the colors. Women in Washington are naturally more familiar with the working of Congress than those out in the states. They know the treatment of the suffrage amendment by the Democratic party, and they are all eager to hear of our campaign against the Democrats."

The following officers for the ninth division of the second precinct were elected at the meeting: Mrs. E. B. Harden, chairman; Dr. Audrey G. Morgan, vice-chairman; and Miss Anna Carr, secretary and treasurer.

At the meeting to be held Thursday at the Richmond Hotel, Miss Vivian Pierce, who campaigned for the Woman's Party in Arizona, will speak on "What Women Did in the Presidential Election." Miss Pierce will also speak at the joint meeting of the seventh, eighth, and ninth subdivisions of the second precinct at Cameron House, Friday, December 15.

Miss Gilbert and Mrs. Bessie Papandre of California are making a house-to-house canvass in the second precinct preparatory to organization meetings for the other subdivisions.

Miss Hazel Hunkins of Montana has taken charge of street meetings in the District to be held in the business section three nights a week during the winter. The following speakers have been secured for these meetings, Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke, Mrs. Ida M. Waters, Miss Gilbert, Mrs. Papandre, Miss Katherine Rolston Fisher, Miss Pierce, Miss Berta Crone and Miss Maud Jamison.

Massachusetts Activities

THE Framingham branch of the Massachusetts Congressional Union held its first meeting of the season on Thursday, December 7, at the beautiful home of Mrs. C. L. Butler, in Framingham Center, Massachusetts. Following the brief business meeting the chairman, Miss Olive Mills Belches, presided and introduced the speakers, Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, state chairman, and Miss Katherine A. Morey, state treasurer of the Massachusetts branch. Mrs. Morey explained the work of the Congressional Union and its dealings with Congress, emphasizing the breadth and scope of the work, from the intensive lobbying at the Capitol, to the organized pressure from coast to coast.

Miss Morey gave an account of the Kansas campaign of the Woman's Party, which resulted in the defeat of Congressman Joseph Taggart, the only member of the House Judiciary Committee from a suffrage state. The Framingham branch is keenly interested in the work of the Union and enthusiastic to do its part in the winter's program. The finance committee of the Massachusetts branch of the Congressional Union will have a candy, cake and preserve sale at the headquarters in Boston next Wednedsay and Thursday, December 13 and 14.

Oklahoma Congressional Union Organizes

MISS IRIS CALDERHEAD, who is organizing a state conference of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage in Oklahoma, reports that the first meeting of the suffragists of the state for work for the federal suffrage amendment will take place in Oklahoma City shortly after the holidays. Miss Calderhead finds the same interest in the renewed fight for the federal amendment in Oklahoma as in the western states. There are few women who have not been stirred by the political position women are beginning to assume, says Miss Calderhead.

Miss Calderhead was one of the campaigners for the Woman's Party in Arizona, where she made a campaign against Senator Ashurst in his home county that aroused tremendous opposition on the part of his party and drew from him fervent protests of loyalty to the federal amendment. Miss Calderhead is the daughter of ex-Representative Calderhead of Kansas. She helped in the organization of the exposition convention of the Congressional Union and was a speaker at the Colorado Springs conference of the Woman's Party.

The conference in Oklahoma will be held in Oklahoma City, reports Miss Calderhead, but will draw suffragists from all of the larger centers of the state. A conference luncheon will precede the formal organization of the Union in Oklahoma and the election of officers. One of the interesting features of the conference to Oklahoma women will be the recital of the plan and purpose of the late campaign in the suffrage states. Miss Calderhead has found tremendous interest in the western campaign. She is sending the call to the conference to all club women and suffragists in the state.

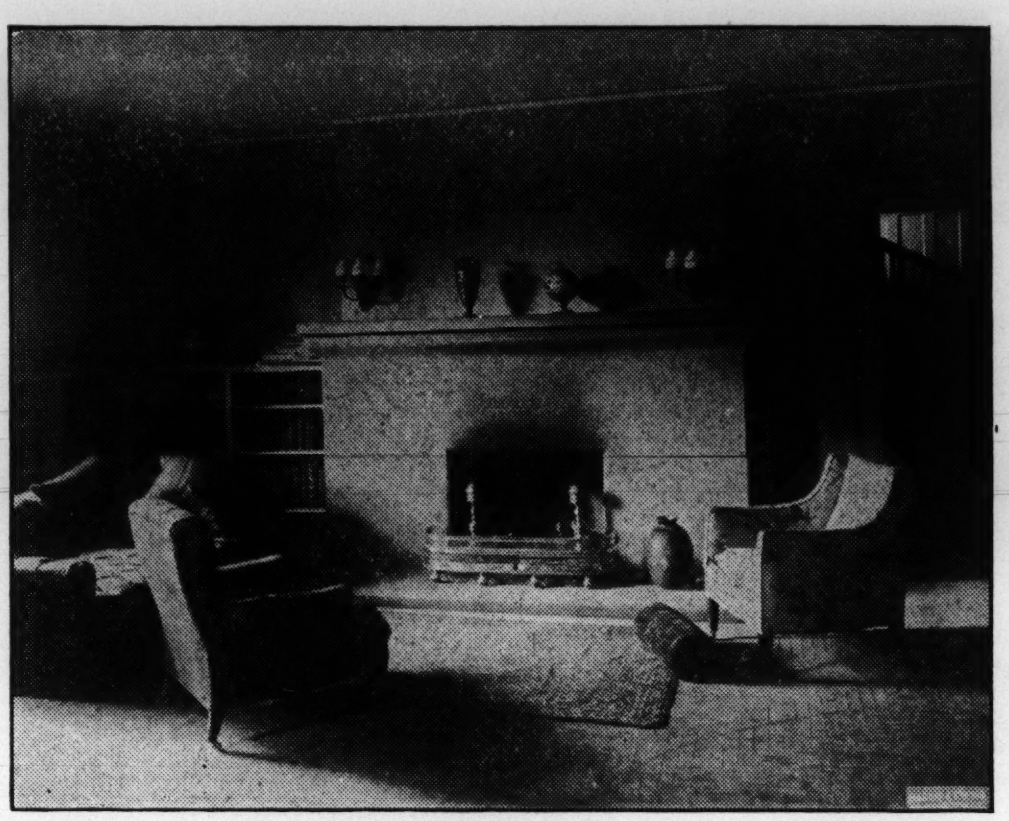
District of Columbia Branch to Give Christmas Dance

CAMERON HOUSE, the home of the Congressional Union, is to have a real Christmas party. It will be celebrated, with music and by the light of Christmas candles, on Thursday evening, December 28.

It is now nearly a year since the Union came to live at Cameron House, often called "the little White House" in memory of the times when Vice-Presidents resided there, and when Mark Hanna and President McKinley used to meet there for conferences over the breakfast table. Not since the days when Cameron House had a recognized official position, has a real Christmas party been given.

There will be dancing in the big drawing rooms for the young, and cards in the smaller rooms, and the largest Christmas tree obtainable in the large front drawing room. The big Christmas tree will be in charge of Mrs. John Jay White, of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Gilson Gardner, who has just returned to Washington, and Miss Grace Needham.

Mrs. Robert Baker and Miss Edith Goode will arrange for the dancing. Mrs. John Kerfoot Haywood, chairman of the tenth precinct of the District, will preside over the bridge tables. Mrs. Paul Dessez is chairman of the music committee. Tickets at one dollar will be sold in aid of the winter's federal amendment campaign, at Congressional Union headquarters. The affair promises to be both lovely and brilliant.



A Chimney Corner in Cameron House, Where the Christmas Dance Will Be Held

Woman's Peace Party for Federal Amendment

By Katharine Rolston Fisher

THE Woman's Peace Party at its second annual meeting, held in Washington, December 8 to 10, endorsed, by an overwhelming vote, the federal suffrage amendment. On December 12, Miss Jane Addams, national and international chairman of the Woman's Peace Party, and other representatives of the organization, appeared before the sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee, which handles suffrage legislation, to urge that the amendment be reported to the House and voted upon during the present session.

This rallying of the Woman's Peace Party to the support of the amendment is a recognition of its immediate need of political power in order to carry out its congressional program. This program includes resolutions opposing compulsory military service and the military training of minors, as proposed in the Chamberlain bill; resolutions calling upon the government to convene the third Hague Conference at the earliest possible moment, demanding that the voting delegates to that conference be civilians, men and women, representing the varied interests of the country, and instructed to advocate world organization and a peaceful settlement of all international difficulties; and a resolution requesting the President to issue proclamation on New Year's day to call the attention of the belligerent and neutral nations to the fact that he has been empowered by Congress to initiate and sponsor an international congress for the abolition of war and the promotion of general disarmament.

These resolutions call for action either by the President or by Congress. As the discussion of them progressed, it became evident that political power was required to make effective the "pressure upon Congress" which the supporters of the resolutions were urging upon the convention.

A member of the New York delegation, Miss Crystal Eastman, moved that the resolutions committee be instructed by the meeting to bring in a resolution in favor of the Susan B. Anthony federal suffrage amendment. Mrs. Florence Kelley, executive secretary of the National Consumers' League, led the discussion in favor of the motion. Mrs. Nina E. Allender, of the legislative committee, in the absence of Mrs. George Odell, chairman of that committee, stated that the committee had already endorsed the federal amendment, and asked that its action be followed by the party. Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, first vice-chairman, who was presiding, said that the Woman's Peace Party was already committed to equal suffrage by its platform. It now had an opportunity to say whether it was ready to come out in favor of enfranchisement by national action. The suffrage resolution was reported by the resolutions committee and adopted without debate by an overwhelming vote.

Miss Jane Addams led the argument for the federal suffrage amendment at the hearing before the Judiciary sub-committee. The other speakers were Mrs. William I. Thomas of Chicago, Miss Grace Abbott, director of the Immigrant Protection League, Chicago, and Miss Mary Winsor of Pennsylvania. The speakers were introduced by Mrs. Frank Cothren of New York.

Miss Addams said, "The Woman's Peace Party is interested primarily in peace, and in suffrage; because we believe that women should have the right to vote on the question of peace and war, or rather to vote for the men who decide a policy of peace or war. I live in Illinois where the women were enfranchised by the legislature, as fully enfranchised as they could be by legislative enactment. The legislature allowed us to vote for President of the United States and gave us full municipal suffrage. Some of us are much discouraged at the idea of one state after another referring the matter to a referendum. In the state of New Mexico it would take twenty-five years to change the constitution so as to give suffrage to women. This method allows the nation to be in (if I may use the expression) a higgledy-piggledy state in regard to women's voting. I beg of you not to let a doctrinaire attitude on the matter of states' rights stand in the way of doing this great piece of justice to women and also of evening up the situation throughout the country.

"I find since I have been in Washington a feeling almost of resentment on the part of eastern women that western women have been allowed the great opportunity to vote for President and Congressmen and that eastern women are deprived of the same right. It is of course unfair, because equality before the law and equality of citizenship are fundamental principles of our democracy.

"We are for a vote on the federal amendment and as large a vote as possible."

Miss Grace Abbott said, "If you grant our right to vote, raising the question of who should give it to us is, of course, sending us off the track entirely. At this moment American women should be making some headway. All through Europe women are making strides, while the United States lags behind in this matter. Mr. Asquith has recognized women's claim to the ballot. Do you wish us to wait until we have to do what women in Europe are doing today? Congressmen are by accident of sex the ones who must decide this question. You were not canvassed as to whether you should have the right to vote. We ask you to exercise your right well by putting us the next step ahead. It is one step up in the long slow trudge toward the ideal that America has given to the world,—a democracy that recognizes the possibilities in one-half the people as well as the other."

The actual work of using the strength of the Woman's Peace Party to push the federal suffrage amendment is in the hands of the legislative committee.

Treasurer's Report

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List of Contributions from December 5 through December 12, 1916

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Miss Anita L. Bulmer....	1.00
Mrs. Ida J. Lewis	1.00
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Mr. L. M. Tuller.....	10.00
Mrs. Julia H. Finster....	25.00
Mr. James Whittemore...	25.00

Through Mrs. Kent's Committee:

Miss Aline E. Solomons	2.00
Mrs. Gifford Pinchot...	25.00
Mrs. James Whittemore	25.00
Membership fees.....	16.25
Total	1,812.94

Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST.....	192,114.04
National Headquarters Receipts:	
Total collected by National Headquarters through December 12, 1916.....	193,926.98
Branch Receipts:	
Total collected by the Branches through Dec. 12, 1916.....	18,008.94
Grand Total	$211,935.92

Suffrage Amendment Reported

(Continued from page 7)

A substitute motion was at once made to consider the suffrage amendment alone, since that was the order of business for the day. This substitute motion Mr. Webb ruled out of order, although it was obviously in order. The vote to postpone all constitutional amendments was then put to the members present and carried; and it was announced that the suffrage amendment was "shelved" for the session.

The record of the Judiciary Committee, which is one of the largest and most responsible committees connected with the Democratic machine, was faithfully reported to hundreds of thousands of women voters during the last presidential campaign and turned thousands of votes against the Democratic party, which had not only opposed suffrage, but had used tricky and dishonest methods to prevent a fair consideration of the issue by the representatives of the people.

It was the important part that the suffrage issue played in the recent campaign that forced the hand of the Democrats on the Judiciary Committee and made it necessary for them to open the committee doors and let the bill go before the lower house.

Throughout the first session of the present Congress, the meetings of the Judiciary Committee were attended, with the utmost faithfulness by a corps of western women who devoted themselves with a lavish generosity to the work of securing action on the national suffrage measure. Chief of the lobby committee is Miss Maud Younger of California, who was playfully called by a member of the House "the twenty-second member of the Judiciary Committee" on account of her sedulous attendance at its sessions.

The Judiciary Committee meets every Tuesday and Thursday; and every Tuesday and Thursday saw Miss Maud Younger and her assistants at the door of the committee, asking for action on the suffrage amendment. The fact that Miss Younger was a western woman, herself a voter and influential among many other women voters, made her presence before the committee room a powerful influence in favor of the bill. She was assisted in her work by a big corps of other women, the majority of whom were also from the voting states. Among them were Mrs. Gilson Gardner of Illinois, Mrs. George Odell of Illinois, Mrs. William Kent of California, Mrs. Mary Kealty Clagett of Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Charles Edward Russell of New York and Washington, D. C.

It was most fitting that, when the Judiciary Committee finally made its report and discharged the suffrage amendment from its official business, Miss Younger should be standing outside the door, the first person in the United States, outside of the committee, to hear the tidings that the suffrage amendment had been advanced one step forward and had been sent on its way for further action in Congress.

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